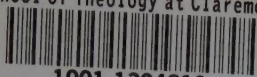


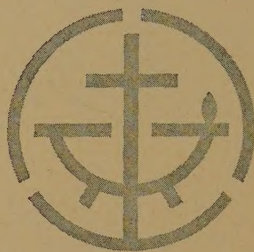
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INDICATIONS OF SOURCE
FOR THE
ACCOUNTS OF THE LAST SUPPER
AS GIVEN BY
THE SYNOPTISTS AND BY ST. PAUL

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By CHARLES PORTER COFFIN[✓]
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INDICATIONS OF SOURCE FOR THE ACCOUNTS OF THE LAST SUPPER AS GIVEN BY THE SYNOPTISTS AND BY ST. PAUL

CHARLES PORTER COFFIN

IT WAS in the last year, or last year but one, of the nineteenth century that I wrote a brief essay entitled *Two Sources for the Synoptic Accounts of the Last Supper*. I was then, as I am now, an amateur student of biblical criticism, interested particularly in an endeavor to understand the literary problem presented by the synoptic gospels, to find an explanation of their many congruences and their many differences. At that time I knew little or nothing of the work of professional scholars along that line. Reading over that article now, I am sure that I had then read nothing about a two-document theory, and had never heard of Q or S. I believed that Mk, Mt and Lk were independent transcribers of a common tradition, which they did not all remember with equal accuracy, and which, it seemed, they sometimes departed from, in conformity with their own individual viewpoints, purposes or tastes.

That tradition I frankly called *Petrine*.

Yet when, upon analysis of the three synoptic accounts of the Last Supper, I discovered what seemed to me, in each, two distinguishable strands, one of which closely resembled Paul's account of the same incident given in his first letter to the Corinthians, I called that strand *Pauline*, and concluded that Lk at least had drawn it direct from Paul, and that Mk and Mt, as well as Lk, were familiar with both strands, probably already more or less closely intertwined, in an incipiently liturgical rite practiced by churches of Paul's founding or under his influence. And I understood Paul's statement that he had received his account from the Lord to mean that he believed it to be one of the numerous revelations made to him direct by the Lord.

At that time I had not read or heard of Percy Gardner's *The Origin of the Lord's Supper*, a brochure later called to my attention by my friend and college classmate, the late Prof. B. W. Bacon: nor had I knowledge that any other scholar or scholars had arrived at conclusions at all similar to mine.

My essay was submitted to the Editors of the American Journal of Theology, and after a delay of many months was accepted by them and subsequently appeared in that Journal, published by the University of Chicago Press, in Vol. V, No. 1, January, 1901. The Editors appended to it two pages of Bibliography, including works by Pfeiderer, Holtzman, Jülicher, Gardner, and many others; the last item in point of date being Haas, John A. W., "The Lord's Supper in the Last Decade," Lutheran Church Review, April, July, 1900. Several of the books and articles listed were later read by me.

That early effort of mine lies before me. It is crude, of course. Prof. Gardner, in acknowledging receipt of a reprint, praised the thoroughness of its analysis of the texts, but advised that he had somewhat modified the conclusions previously expressed in his brochure. I have no reason to suppose that my paper exerted any influence in any quarter, and I doubt if any man now living recalls having read it.

The gist of my thesis, that is, the influence of Paul's constructive thought and expression on the formulization of the synoptic accounts of the Supper, arrived at by others shortly before or near the time of publication of my paper, has not met general acceptance on the part of N. T. scholars. Yet some have reached quite similar conclusions, and I find respectful awareness of them in the writings of modern critics, even in Prof. Goguel and in Prof. Bacon. And on renewed study of the subject it still seems to me that that thesis is based on indications too real, too clear, to be permanently overlooked or disregarded.

Let this be my apology for recurring to my theme of near forty years ago.

To begin with, I do not claim to be a full disciple of Prof. Torrey, nor have I first hand knowledge of any Semitic language. Yet such study as I, with my limitations, am able to give to Torrey's theory of translation Greek as applied to the Greek

gospels impresses me strongly in several particulars. His erudition is unquestioned. His comparative method seems legitimate and promising. To some of his learned reviewers many items in his conclusions appear to be firmly founded. Yet to them, and to me also, he seems to have erected, in his broad theory of Aramaic gospels, a super-structure too one-sided, too top-heavy, to be safely based on the narrow foundation of demonstrated data set forth in his book, *The Four Gospels, A New Translation*.¹ When, however, the attempt is made to apply his general theory to given cases, the result often appears to be justified; and this seems to be true with reference to Lk's account of the Supper and, though perhaps less manifestly, with reference to the versions of the same episode given by Mk, by Mt, and even by Paul.

Thus, anything in these passages that is characteristically Semitic, Hebraic or Aramaic, in matter or in form, may fairly be set down as derived ultimately from some Semitic source, and under the circumstances from an Aramaic source, whether that source were in writing or still in the stage of oral transmission. Per contra, anything in the same passages that is plainly and characteristically Greek and not Aramaic, may safely be held not to have been drawn from an Aramaic source. While whatever is neither demonstrably Greek nor demonstrably Aramaic is neutral and adds no weight to either side of the discussion. If in our Greek texts we find constructions that are not idiomatic Greek but are or may be too literal translations of idiomatic Aramaic, it is justifiable to conclude that they are in fact such translations. Because anyone, translating *into* his mother tongue, is almost sure at times to transcribe idiom in place of translating it; and anyone translating *out* of his mother tongue is quite sure at times to do the same. I base this statement on both personal experience and observation, but exception should of course be made in favor of such as are actually bi-lingual. It is on the *mis-translations* in the Greek gospels that Torrey appears principally to rely for his broad theory.

¹ Torrey's second vol., *Our Translated Gospels*, has appeared since this monograph was completed.

In the matter of the synoptic gospels, where one can be checked against the others, convincing reasons have been adduced for the priority of Mk. Yet there is evidence for the supposition that for a large part of their parallel material all three of the synoptists had the benefit of a common source prior even to Mk. This possibility seems strong when, in clearly parallel passages, Mt and Lk not only disagree with Mk in detail, even in seemingly trivial detail, yet in that detail fully or quite closely agree one with the other. In the frequent cases where Mt varies from Mk, and Lk also varies from Mk, yet closely coincides with Mt, the probability, in default of some better explanation, becomes strong that all three are here using one common source, even though two of them or all three of them employ it with some degree of individual freedom. And when we find a case like this, and it further becomes evident that what each gives, though with slight and trivial variation, might be with almost equal faithfulness the translation of the same Aramaic word or phrase, it is forcibly suggested that they had not simply a common source but a common Aramaic source.

Of all these different classes of phenomena, we, though unlearned in the Aramaic tongue, may find examples in the several accounts of the Supper and in their preceding and following contexts. Choosing the entirely arbitrary limits of Lk 22:1 to 23:20, with the parallels in Mk and Mt, as a sufficiently extensive passage of the Passion Section to yield results from search for such examples, I have found with surprise that there were at least thirty instances that seemed to me fairly to come within the category. A list of these was submitted to Prof. Torrey, who, again to my surprise, pointed out two items only that in his judgement were improperly included therein. Let me add that I had with equal care searched through all the cure-stories given by the synoptists, and other passages as well, for comparable indications of Translation Greek, with amazing paucity of positive result even though admitting all the items in them that Torrey had noted in his *Four Gospels*, some of which had seemed provocative of further discussion.

Centering now on the synoptic accounts of the Supper, one of the first points to strike our attention is the unanimity of

statement that the occasion was *the day of unleavened bread*. Mk and Lk further specify that it was the time on which the passover was sacrificed. Whether the synoptists are right or wrong as to the exact date may still be a matter of debate, but there can be no doubt as to what their own view was. To them it was, without distinction, the day, the first day, of unleavened bread, and the passover.

But the passover was a distinctly and characteristically Israelitish religious institution. Other races, other nations, had no intrinsic interest in it. To gentiles, to Greeks, its celebration made no racial or religious appeal. Moreover, any genuine recollection of what was said or done in a certain upper room on this particular passover evening, was the recollection of one or more of those present, a small group of men, and all of them Jews. Furthermore, the recollection of what was said must have been of words in the language used in saying it. That language we believe to have been Aramaic. And lastly, the conversation of an entire evening was recalled in brief epitome only, and must soon have simmered down to a resumé that could be told and retold and committed to writing in a dozen short sentences. It is natural to infer that that is just what happened. Under these circumstances it would be absurd for us to insist that Jesus on this occasion said just this or just that, neither more or less. The oldest evidence that we have in the matter is already in Greek translation and in accounts that already vary considerably one from another. Our problem thus becomes one of figuring out as well as we can from these variant records the nearest approximation to an original from which all may have, can have, been derived. This problem is not primarily religious, but lies in the field of folk lore and criticism of literary form.

From the literary remains that have come down to us, we know with what seems sufficient certainty that the recollection of those present on the occasion mentioned was of a nationally observed ritual feast. We may take it for granted that the table was set according to the traditional manner. Whatever else was on the board, there was bread, and it was unleavened bread.

And the passing of a cup from the head of the table is distinctly remembered.

Yet this celebration feast seems not to have progressed wholly in the traditional manner. Some of the circumstances were quite unusual and called forth remarks that impressed themselves on the memory of those present.

This impression, doubtless sifted down to essential brevity, at some time came to be reduced to writing; just when, we may not know. If it was in Aramaic, that writing has been lost. No copy of it, no mention of it during the intervening centuries, has come down to us. If such an Aramaic writing ever existed, we know it only from translation into a tongue of alien linguistic family or from re-translation into other languages, Syriac, Latin, and so on. Nevertheless, we may have good reason to believe that in one of the Greek synoptic gospels there is preserved an at least fairly faithful rendering of a part of such an Aramaic writing. I refer to Lk 22:14-18.

In the first place, it has a wholly Israelitish background, the keeping of passover. In form it is a couplet, an almost perfect couplet, in poetic diction, strikingly similar to the many such couplet forms found in the Old Testament scriptures and also in the reported teachings of Jesus.¹ This form was congenial to Hebrew modes of thought and expression. I do not recall finding it in classical Greek literature, though my reading has, confessedly, been limited.

The idiomatic phrase, "With desire I have desired," is by Bacon called a Hebraism.

Within the couplet are two vows of abstention, "I will not eat of it until," "I will not drink until." Similar declarations, that one would forego some usual activity or indulgence pending the occurrence of some wished-for event, are frequent in the O. T. scriptures and indicate a characteristic of the Hebrew people about whom and for whom they were written. Vows to

¹ I do not mean by this that the original Aramaic couplet was *poetry*, in the sense that the lines conformed to any regular Aramaic meter.

perform some specified act if and when the gods should grant some specified request are frequent in Greek literature also; but vows of abstinence, such as those quoted, were, I think, alien to the Greek genius. I make this remark, subject to correction.

The Kingdom of God is twice mentioned in the couplet. The coming Kingdom of God is a characteristically Jewish conception.

No Greek author, as Lk is held to have been, could have invented all this and put it into the strict couplet form. He must have found it already in existence, in its entirety; and in an Hebraic language, or possibly in Greek translation made by someone else, though evidence for such prior translation is wholly lacking, so far at least as the first member of the couplet is concerned. For the wording of the second member, with its almost literal parallelism in the three synoptic accounts, we must acknowledge familiarity with Mk on the part of both Mt and Lk: yet even here we shall find indications of independent use of an Aramaic original on the part of all three. Let us note the following:

Mk 14:23 *ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.*

Mt 26:27 *πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.*

Lk 22:17 *Λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτοὺς.*

The idea of the disciples' sharing the contents of the cup is common to the three passages, but it is phrased in three different ways; "Take this and divide it among yourselves," "Drink ye all of it," and "they all drank of it." The words employed by Mt closely agree with Mk; in Lk, both the phraseology and the placement in the narrative are different. Yet the fact is noticeable that Lk and Mt agree in differing from Mk in that they both quote, to the same effect, a direction on the part of Jesus, and in that they do not mention compliance therewith on the part of the disciples: whereas Mk does not quote the request but does state as a matter of fact compliance with just such a direction as the others explicitly quote. The three-fold congruity of sense, the agreement in part between Mk and Mt, the further agreement in part between Mt and Lk, point to one conclusion,

that back of all three lay a single source, in a language not Greek, of which Mk's translation appeared to each of the others somewhat too paraphrastic, and which they accordingly, yet independently and each in his own way, so re-translate as to correct what they felt to be amiss in Mk. That source may have read either 'share it among yourselves,' or 'drink of it, all of you,' — they mean about the same, — still, in the ratio of two to one, the probability is that it read "Drink of it, all of you." That it also read 'Take ye,' seems not so certain, for neither Mk nor Mt so reads, although, in the same general connection but with reference to the broken bread rather than to the cup, Mk and Mt both use the word *λάβετε*, where Lk omits it. And to it Mt adds *φάγετε*, 'eat ye,' for which a source, if there be one, remains to be traced.

Of course, both words appear, in the Textus Receptus, in I Cor 11:24, but they are rejected by Westcott and Hort, and are doubtless an interpolation based on Mt.

Lk 22:18 *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*, 'from now on.'

Mt 26:29 *ἀπ' ἄρτι*, 'henceforth.'

Mk 14:25 *οὐκέτι*, 'no more.'

It seems probable that this three-fold difference is the result of independent translation of a single word in the original Aramaic. The form in Lk and Mt is much alike, the sense is identical. In form, if not in sense, Mk is appreciably different. Prof. Torrey informs me that a very common Aramaic adverb, literally 'from now,' is regularly used in three different ways: (1) 'from now onward, henceforth,' (2) 'presently, soon,' (3) 'now;' and he supposes that Mk had the same word in 14:25, but rendered it not quite so literally as do Mt and Lk. In Lk 22:69 and in Mt 26:64 we find the same readings as here, not paralleled by Mk, and seemingly, from the context, in the sense of 'presently, soon,' rather than 'from now on, henceforth.'

Further indications of probable independent translation may be found in Lk's *δεξιόμενος*, taking, where Mk and Mt read *λαβών*; in Lk's *ἀπὸ τοῦ*, where Mk reads *ἐκ τοῦ* and Mt *ἐκ τούτου τοῦ*; in Lk's *ἕως οὗ*, where Mk and Mt read *ἕως . . . ὅταν*. A different explanation is demanded for Lk's *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ*

Θεοῦ ἔλθῃ, where, Mk reads 'εν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, and Mt 'εν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

In any event, it seems to me that enough has been adduced to justify the conclusion that Lk's couplet is a more or less accurate translation from the Aramaic, and that Mk's and Mt's accounts also clearly reflect first-hand knowledge of that same Aramaic.

I have been speaking of Lk's couplet, that is, of Lk 22:14-18. But really, there are in the accepted text *two couplets*, the second comprised in the next succeeding verses, 19 and 20. For convenience we can call the first *a* and the second *b*.

Now, whether the whole, or only the first member, of *b* is genuinely Lucan is a problem for experts in the comparative study of texts; but whatever their decision, the almost complete identity of *b*, as far as it goes, with I Cor. 11 f. leads to one of but two possible conclusions: either *b* depends on Paul, or both rest on a source older than either. And this is noticeable, that neither *b* nor Paul nor the parts of Mk or of Mt that here closely parallel them manifest any of those technical indications of translation Greek that we have found in Lk's *a* and its parallels in Mk and Mt. In other words, no reason appears for supposing that *where all four agree* either I Cor. or Lk's *b* or Mk or Mt is drawn from an original Aramaic. If all, or any three, or any two, had a common source, the implication is that that source was in Greek that was not translation Greek. For Paul, at least, no such source is known. A further implication is, that Lk's couplet *b*, and whether wholly or in part only in his autograph, was drawn directly or indirectly from Paul's letter, and that the accounts given by Mk and by Mt reflect the same teaching, though in a form already adapted and adopted by the churches in their current worship.

On a previous page we noted numerous differences between the synoptists that appeared to be attributable to variant translation. But there are also differences that must be accounted for otherwise. Thus: Lk reads "For, I say unto you, I will not drink," giving in this way the reason for the immediately preceding request that the disciples share the cup *among themselves*. In Mt, the request does not immediately precede the statement, — other matter intervenes; — the latter is not offered as a

reason for the former, and the 'for' is replaced by 'but.' In Mk, the arrangement is the same, and for 'for' he substitutes 'amen.' That Lk's is the correct translation seems evident from the analogue, 'for I will not eat,' in the first member of the couplet. Again, Mk's "until . . . in the kingdom of God," and Mt's "until . . . in the kingdom of my father," show closer translation of an original than does Lk's "Until the kingdom of God come;" the latter seeming more likely to reflect Paul's "until he come."

And further, without textual reasons and simply on internal, circumstantial evidence, I venture to suggest that in another particular Lk may be departing from his source.

The second member of the Aramaic couplet, Lk's *a*, contained a command and an explanation, 'Drink *ye*, for *I* will not drink until . . . ' The first member, as Lk gives it, contains an analogous explanation, but does not contain an analogous command that would call for it. If strict couplet form were adhered to here as it is elsewhere, the original would have read 'Nevertheless, take *ye*, eat *ye*,' or words to that effect, 'for, I say unto you, *I* will not eat it until . . . ' But instead of that, Lk wrote, 'before I suffer,' which looks suspiciously like vaticination *post factum*, for Jesus was clearly anticipating a future occasion on which he should eat a fulfilled passover with his disciples in the Kingdom of God on earth, rather than his own immediately pending demise. Possibly Lk here, again, reflects Paul,— "the Lord's death."

If this hypothesis is even approximately correct, we have found the source for Mk's *λάβετε*, take ye, and for Mt's *λάβετε*, *φάγετε*, take, eat.

The longed-for Kingdom had not yet come! Temporary failure, and now disloyalty within the circle, might well have caused the stoutest heart to sicken with hope deferred, and have recalled the ancient Hebrew oath, I will not eat, I will not drink, until my vow be accomplished.

Can we be far wrong in concluding that the Aramaic Couplet, embedded in the oldest recorded recollection of what transpired about the table in the upper chamber, translated by Lk, reflected by Mk and by Mt, dimly recalled by the Apostle to the Gentiles, probably ran something after this manner:

And he said unto them,
 With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you.
 Nevertheless, take ye, eat ye,
 For I say unto you
 That I will not eat it
 Until it be fulfilled
 In the Kingdom of God.
 And taking a cup, and having rendered thanks,
 He gave to them and said,
 Drink ye all from it,
 For I say unto you
 I will not from now on drink of the fruit of the vine
 Until I drink it new
 In the Kingdom of God.

II.

It has been pointed out that what is given in the three synoptic gospels and in Paul's letter, in close connection with the Aramaic couplet account of the passover feast, but with reference to 'bread' which is 'my body,' and to 'a cup' which is 'the New Covenant in my blood' or 'my blood of the Covenant,' exhibits none of those characteristic traits that indicate independent translation from a language that was not Greek. And from this lack of positive evidence to the contrary, it was inferred that the Aramaic source from which the synoptists drew did not contain it. The couplet does not mention bread, though the context specifically mentions 'the day of unleavened bread.' It might be added that the conception of eating human flesh, or of drinking blood of man or beast, literally or figuratively, was repugnant to Hebrew tradition and modes of thought, and could hardly have sprung from Judean soil.

It seems necessary to conclude therefore that the couplet which Lk translates gives substantially what the primitive Aramaic account gave, and gives all of it; and that for the remainder of the synoptic accounts of the Supper, that has to do

with the notions of 'bread-body' and 'cup-blood,' some wholly different source, a source in Greek yet not in translation Greek, must have been relied on.

To us it may seem strange that, though they knew the couplet account in the original, Mk and Mt should have made no use of its first member beyond the words *λάβετε* and *φάγετε*; that Paul, though he appears to have known it in its oral or possibly in its written stage, should have forgotten or ignored the greater part of it; that the ancient Greek liturgists of the church, who must have known it through Lk if not from the original, should have excluded it completely from their elaborate forms; and that down to our own day it is seldom if ever read or referred to in non-liturgical communion services. During a fairly long life I have been present at, I should say, hundreds of such services, yet I cannot recall ever to have heard it used. It seems to have dropped completely out of the recollection and the teaching of the church; and the explanation of this phenomenon may be found in the fact that it runs counter to the cherished belief of the church practically from its foundation, in that it shows non-participation of the Master himself in the eating of the meal. *Abstinence* from the feast and the cup found no place in Paul's letter to the Corinthians. Abstinence from the cup does find a place in Mk and in Mt; they, as we have seen reason to believe, knew it in the original, yet they drop it into their narrative in a detached way, omitting the *γάρ* 'for,' so losing its logical connection. The eucharistic rite of the churches with which they were familiar probably made no mention of it. So far as we can see, the church at Corinth knew nothing of it. In the days of the great liturgies, the church is wholly oblivious to it.

Yet Paul manifests first-hand knowledge of the substance matter of the ancient couplet account and of its setting, though whether he knew it in its oral or in its written stage we may not be able to discover. He remembers that there was a supper at which Jesus and others were present; that it took place on the night in which the Lord was betrayed; that Jesus rendered

thanks; that as to the food and also as to the cup he uttered a brief comment; that in connection with each there was a forward look into the future: and within Paul's memory there still remained some, not all, of the very words that he had heard or read, and that, when writing to his Corinthian converts, he renders into Greek, much as Lk will do some thirty years or so later. Thus:

Paul	Luke	
τῇ νυκτί	ἡ ὥρα	
ἔλαβεν	δεξάμενος	But Mk and Mt ὀψίας
εὐχαριστήσας (for the bread)	εὐχαριστήσας (for the cup)	But Mk and Mt λαβών So also Mk and Mt, who, for the bread, read εὐλο- γήσας.
ἄρτον	Not in the Ara. couplet, but doubtless suggested by its context, which had spoken of unleavened bread.	
ἐσθίητε	φαγεῖν, φάγω	Mt φάγετε
ποτήριον	ποτήριον	So also Mk and Mt
πίνητε	διαμερίσατε	But Mt πίετε, and Mk ἔπιον
ἄχρι οὗ	ἕως οὗ	But Mk and Mt ἕως . . . ὅταν
καινή (of the covenant)	Not in Lk	But Mk and Mt καινόν (of the fruit of the vine)

All this was in the Ara. couplet or in its immediate context. Paul's account, too, exhibits the couplet form in similar parallelism.

But as to the balance of Paul's account, must we think that Paul recalls the primitive tradition with greater accuracy than did the early Jewish writer who first transcribed it?

Did that tradition have anything to say of the passover, the day of 'unleavened bread,' or only of 'bread'?

Did it include such directions as 'Take ye, Eat ye, Drink ye;' or only 'Do this in remembrance of me'?

Did it contain the explanations 'For, I tell you, I will not eat it, I will not from now on drink of it;' or in place of that did it say 'This bread is *my* body for you, this cup is the New Testament in *my* blood'?

And could the tradition, after the pillars of the Jerusalem church had recounted it to Paul yet before some Jewish scribe had put it into writing, have dropped out the comment 'ye do show forth the Lord's death until he come,' and have substituted for it the two vows of abstinence, 'until it be fulfilled, until I drink it new in the kingdom of God'? Or rather, was it not Paul's recollection that may have reversed this process? What has come down to us about the feast and the cup is evidently in two strata. One stratum is older than the other, but their relative antiquity is not determined by the relative dates of I Cor. and the synoptic gospels. The written Aramaic account is older than our Greek gospels, and it is Jewish to the core. It may be older than the letter to the Corinthians. If I am not mistaken, it bears the stamp of primitiveness, not the stamp of artifice. And if it be a question of comparative accuracy of recollection, who can say that it must have been the obscure Jewish scribe who, setting down an Aramaic tradition, in Aramaic writing, to preserve it for Aramaic readers, depended on a comparatively inaccurate memory: or for that matter, who can think that such a scribe could have invented what would be immediately recognized by his contemporaries and friends as a gross and unauthentic variant from the currently accepted belief?

Now, what the apostle to the gentiles gives, some of which as we have seen was in the Aramaic account known to and used by the synoptists and some of which was not, Paul reminds his correspondents that he had previously delivered to them and

tells them that he had himself received it from the Lord. Yet I am not alone in finding it very difficult to accept the special pleading made by one learned writer, that by ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Paul must have meant 'from Peter, but ultimately, of course, from the Lord;' or the dictum of another learned writer that, if Paul had meant 'direct from the Lord, as a revelation,' he would have used the preposition παρά in place of ἀπὸ! Surely, when Paul wrote to the Galatians "But from (ἀπὸ) those reputed to be somewhat," who added nothing to him, he made no such fine distinction.

So the fact stands out that, whereas parts of the apostle's passage, I Cor. 11:23-26, reflect much that the synoptists found in an Aramaic source, the residue of the passage does not; but on the contrary, that residue and those elements of the synoptic accounts that closely parallel it, manifest none of the characteristic technical indications of variant independent translation from another language, such as we have been finding in the immediate synoptic contexts. We therefore conclude that *these* elements of the synoptic accounts were not drawn from any Aramaic source at all: and not finding any other common source from which the apostle's conceptions of Bread-Body and Cup-Blood, and the same conceptions introduced into the synoptic accounts, could have been drawn, we see not how to avoid the conclusion that these conceptions found their first formulation in the mind of the apostle himself, who avers that he received them from the Lord; and that Lk, or his editor, got them direct from the letter to the Corinthians or from its recipients, while Mk, followed by Mt, more likely got them from the current usage, already established with some ritual fixedness, of churches either founded by Paul or under the influence of his inspiration.

Now, the integrity of the passage Lk 22:19-20 may still be subject to debate. But whether it be genuinely Lucan in whole, in part, or not at all, the indications of source which it manifests remain the same. For when we compare the passage with that element in I Cor. which is clearly not drawn from the Aramaic tradition we find that the wording is largely identical in both, and, second, that where it varies from I Cor. it with almost complete literalness reproduces Mk.

Thus Lk (or his editor) agrees with Paul except in these particulars: He writes 'taking' instead of 'took,' and accordingly omits 'and,' in this agreeing with Mk. He writes 'gave to them,' which is not in Paul but is in Mk; and having used this indicative he then uses the participle 'saying,' where Paul wrote 'said' and where Mk wrote 'and said.' He departs from Paul's emphatic order, 'this of me is the body,' i. e., *my* body; but follows Mk's unemphatic order, 'this is the body of me.' He adopts Mk's 'which is shed' but changes his 'for many' into 'for you,' so repeating an expression he had just before used, where Paul also had used it, in connection with the bread. Here too Lk inserts the word 'given,' which he found in neither Paul nor Mk. Again by change of word order, Lk writes 'in my blood,' where Paul wrote 'in *my* blood,' thus weakening Paul's emphasis, as does Mk, doubtless because neither of them any longer appreciated the thought that was in Paul's mind when he wrote '*my* body,' '*my* blood.'

And lastly, though Paul had written and repeated 'Do this in *my* memory,' Lk writes it only once. Mk had omitted it altogether.

Does it not seem evident that Lk, or his editor, has been conflating two accounts, Paul's and Mark's?

In explanation of the purely literary phenomena exhibited in the Lk passage, aside from the several examples of his clear dependence on Mk, two hypotheses are possible, and seemingly two only. For Lk's literal agreements with Paul must be due either to dependence of the later writer upon the earlier or to dependence of both upon a common written source. If the latter, that source could not have been in Aramaic, because, in two independent versions of any length from one language into another, translational differences always and inevitably occur, and more strikingly in translation of oral than of written matter: yet here such versional variation is wholly absent. If then there was a common written source, it must have been in Greek, and free from any indications of so-called translation-Greek. But we cannot really think that Paul is simply transcribing some older Greek document when he writes "This is *my* body . . . this cup is the new covenant in *my* blood." No evidence has been

found that anyone had ever written that in Greek or in any other language before Paul penned it. And besides, Paul took the pains to say, in this case, that what he had passed on to his correspondents he had himself received *from the Lord*. Or could Paul have been translating into Greek an Oral Aramaic tradition that he had heard years before, a tradition which Lk also should later receive in written form and should render into Greek in exactly the same words, with no trace of versional variation whatever? The question discloses its own absurdity. And the alternative is, that the couplet in Lk, which we have called *b*, whether Lk's autograph or not, is derived from Paul's letter to the Corinthians, word for word, almost letter for letter: and that even if Paul were there simply putting into Greek an oral Aramaic tradition that he had heard somewhere, sometime, from someone, Lk knew nothing of *that* oral tradition and had found nothing like it in the Aramaic document where he nevertheless did find the narrative of what took place in the upper chamber included in the Semitic couplet in its Semitic setting.

Turning now to the corresponding passage, Mk 14:22-24, of which we assume that Mt's parallel is a re-writing, the same source-problem confronts us. For here too are close congruences, even identities, with Paul's letter. One wrote 'took' and 'saying' where the other writes 'taking' and 'said.' One wrote 'having given thanks' over the bread, where the other writes 'having blessed;' but Mk also writes 'having given thanks' over the cup. Both say 'bread' and 'broke;' both say 'this is my body,' though with significant difference in word order, Paul's placement of 'my' rendering it emphatic. One wrote 'which is for you,' with reference to the bread or to the body; the other writes 'which is shed for many,' with reference to the cup or to the blood. One wrote 'this cup is the new covenant in my blood,' the other writes 'this is my blood of the covenant:' though here again Paul's syntax makes his 'my' emphatic. And Mk here says not 'new' covenant but wine that is to be drunk 'new' in the Kingdom, whereof Paul makes no mention.

But there are real differences as well as close congruences between the two passages. Paul wrote 'do this in my remembrance,' twice; 'in like manner;' and 'as oft as ye drink it.' And

he appended what appears to be a comment of his own, 'For as often as ye eat this bread and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come.' All of this Mk leaves out.

On the other hand, Mk includes 'and gave to them,' 'take ye,' again 'gave to them,' (said) 'to them,' and 'shed,' — none of which do we find in Paul. And Paul, as though he had never heard of them, completely disregards the vows of abstinence, "For I aver I will not eat it . . . I aver I will not from now on drink it . . . until . . . in the Kingdom:" unless, indeed, the one word, 'until,' re-echoes in his own closing phrase, "until He come." A glance forward into the coming kingdom of God on earth, when a fulfilled passover can be eaten, when the festal cup can be drained anew, is transformed into a glimpse of the second coming of the Lord himself.

The story of an occurrence has come to us in variant forms: and it is plain that Mk's account, unlike Lk's couplet *b*, while it here and there agrees with Paul's, for the most part as strikingly disagrees with it. Mk is not copying I Cor., and probably never read that letter.

Nevertheless, the evidences of some *causal connection* between the two are plain. And that means either that one is derived from the other or that both come, ultimately, from some common source. And if so, that source, oral or written, or oral in one case and written in the other, must have contained what both give, though we could not be equally sure that it contained what only one gives and the other does not. That is to say, a common source must have included 'took, or taking,' 'bread,' 'having given thanks,' 'broke it,' 'my body,' 'cup,' 'my blood,' 'covenant:' though from lack of concurrent testimony we would be left in doubt as to whether it did or did not also include these words of Mk, 'as they were eating,' 'having blessed,' 'and gave to them,' 'take ye,' 'taking,' 'gave to them and they all drank from it,' 'shed,' 'many;' or these words of Paul, 'Do this in my remembrance,' (twice), 'in like manner,' 'after supper,' 'as often as ye drink it.' And if the explanatory comment that follows is Paul's contribution, as it appears to be, the common source would not, of course, have contained that.

But for *some* of the words in the first category we have already found clear congruences in that Aramaic account that was known to Mk as well as to the other synoptists, the content of which, in outline at least, was also recalled, perhaps dimly, by Paul. For that old Aramaic account read either 'taking' or 'receiving,' 'unleavened bread' though not 'bread,' 'having given thanks,' 'take ye,' probably also 'Eat ye,' and 'Drink ye all from it.' Mk got much more from the Aramaic, — the Hebraic setting, the passover season, the vow of abstinence, the Kingdom of God, all of which Paul seems to have forgotten or ignored: and what remains that is *common to Mk and to Paul* and that yet is *not common to them and to the Aramaic* is reduced to just this and no more:

Mark	Paul
THIS (bread) IS MY BODY	THIS IS MY BODY
THIS (cup) IS MY BLOOD	THIS IS THE NEW COVENANT
OF THE COVENANT	IN MY BLOOD

To account for this remarkably close agreement and at the same time for the slight but significant variation between the apostle and the evangelist, writing at times, say, between twenty and thirty-five years apart, two alternative explanations can be, and have been, offered: either the two writers are depending ultimately on one common source, or the later has been definitely though probably indirectly influenced by the teaching of the earlier.

Now from our analysis we have already found evidence that, for certain elements of his narrative, Mk depends upon an old Aramaic account, and that Paul, for the corresponding elements of his narrative, recalls (rather vaguely) either that same document or the oral tradition that it embodied. And by the same process that led to that conclusion, by the identification of Hebraisms and the tracing of versional variations, we reached the negative conclusion that the remaining elements, the 'Bread-Body,' the 'Cup-Blood-Covenant,' the 'Do-this-in-my-remembrance' elements, wherever these occur in our texts, were not versions of any Aramaic original and were not therefore drawn

from that document or the tradition that lay behind it. If for these Paul and Mk had a common source, that source must have been already in the Greek language.

Through what line of transmission could such a tradition have come to Paul and to Mk, yet so far as we can see not to Lk except through Paul, and not to Mt except through Mk?

Our minds inevitably turn to Peter, whom Paul had met personally, and of whom Mk was believed by the Elder, as cited by Papias and quoted by Eusebius, to have been the follower, translator, and interpreter. It might be easy, therefore, to assume that it was Peter who very early told Paul what Paul a few years later told, and then wrote, to the Corinthians; and that it was Peter who at some time told Mk what Mk transcribes into his Gospel, even though the resulting accounts, agreeing in much, vary somewhat in detail, whether as told or as remembered. We might even suppose that Peter at one time or another delivered to Paul and also to Mk all that either of these two hearers subsequently remembered and wrote down; — all, that is to say, that is over and above what either or both of them derived from the Aramaic writing or the tradition that lay behind it. In which case the Petrine Tradition must have run something like this:

And as they ate, he took bread and blessed it, (or, gave thanks,) and broke it, and gave to them, and said, This is my (or *my*) body for you (or, for many). This do in my remembrance. And likewise after supping, This is the new covenant in my blood (or, This is my blood of the covenant which is shed for many). Do this, as often as ye drink it, in my remembrance.

True, this bears little resemblance to the old account that Lk translates out of the Aramaic and that both Mk and Mt knew and used in part. So far as we can see it contains little if any thing that is characteristically Hebraic in mode of thought or expression. Nor does it sound as if it were addressed to a group of Jews whose inherited background furnished nothing for its understanding or interpretation. On the contrary, its appropriateness is manifest if it were originally addressed to gentiles

whose idolatrous feasts were condemned by the apostle and to whom he had just said, The earth is *the Lord's*; — flee from idolatry! To them, for them, his written words may be, as indeed they purport to be, the gist of his previous, oral instruction: Bread is not the fullness of Mother Earth, your Ge-meter, or Demeter; it is *the Lord's substance* furnished for your subsistence: the red juice of the vine is not the ichor of your Dionysos, that too is *the Lord's*, the new alliance in *his* blood. Flee from your idolatry! At your feasts, when you break bread together, when you drain your cup together, do it in *the Lord's* remembrance, not in celebration of your idolatrous personifications of natural forces, who are nothing, the mere figments of poetical imagination. I have told you all this before. I tell it you again. I myself received it from the Lord. Because, whenever you eat this bread and drink the cup at your religious banquets, what you celebrate is not the dying down of the fields after the harvest, of the vineyards after the vintage, until they come to life again in the spring: it is the *Lord's death* that you proclaim, until *He* come.

The Corinthians doubtless needed to be reminded of all this, over and over again. It is not easy to discard wholly and at once all the little implications of an inherited cultus. But they required no new background for the understanding of this teaching of the apostle. They could comprehend it, they could come in time to accept it, because, though it shifts the emphasis from the gods of Greece to The Lord, its basic conception, the idea of participating, as they ate and drank, in the fulness of the earth, in the elements, the substance and the life of their earth-born deities, was an integral part of their own nature-religion. With that conception the instruction now given by the apostle had strong lines of affinity. Wherever he got it, its fundamental notion lies not in Hebrew religion but in Greek theogony. Jewish history, Jewish modes of thought and feeling, furnish no background for its understanding, and as a nation the Jews rejected it.

We may search in vain for evidence that the doctrine of the Lord's body and blood delivered by Paul to his Corinthians was derived from Peter, or from Judaism, or from the earliest beliefs and practices of the Palestinian church.

We know what one early writer, Luke, tells of the life of primitive Christians in Jerusalem. They broke their bread together and gave God thanks, as good Jews did. But no sign of eucharistic rite is there. Luke tells of the teaching and preaching of Peter in Judea. But again, no hint of eucharistic sacrament emerges. We have, besides, a letter, the so-called First Epistle of Peter, addressed not to Greeks but to Jews, strangers in foreign lands, which has been thought and may well be thought to represent that apostle's mature recollections, convictions and beliefs. Here is mention of a living hope begotten by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, of faith unto salvation, of the revelation of Jesus and the glory that should follow, of the sufferings of Christ testified beforehand, of grace, holiness, redemption, baptism by water, a second birth through the word of God that abideth forever. All this comports well with what Peter is said to have preached in the earliest times. It is Christian, largely of Hebraic type.

Yet it says nothing of bread. Its says nothing of a cup. When it speaks of body, it is thus: "who his own self carried up our sins in his body to the tree." When it mentions blood, it is thus: "you were redeemed . . . with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, the blood of Christ, . . . by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ." Here are conceptions that have their roots far back in Hebrew history, yet could have little meaning or appeal to Hellenic minds; while such ideas as eating the body and drinking the blood of a god, which run as far back into Greek history, find no place.

In short, the supposition that Paul and Mk received from or through Peter what both give in substantial agreement, — "This is my body . . . this is my blood," — remains an assumption unsupported by evidence either documentary or circumstantial. What circumstantial evidence we find seems all to the contrary.

For the evident congruences and the equally evident incongruences between the accounts of the Supper as given by Paul and by Mk, — likenesses that prove some measure of source- or causal-connection, differences that show such connection to be

for the most part not direct dependence either of one upon the other or of both upon a single source, — some alternative explanation must be sought.

A part of the evidence on which such an alternative explanation can be based has been traced in the foregoing pages, wherein it has been attempted to disclose both that, and also to what extent, Paul's and Mk's accounts are primarily but independently derived from a primitive Aramaic account of the supper in the upper chamber, an episode of which an account has come down to us with the nearest approach to fulness and accuracy in a couplet as translated by Luke. And beyond that evidence, indications have been adduced that that primitive account in time experienced adaptive modification, arising from contact with, and the necessity for counteracting, certain ethnical religious conceptions encountered in a gentile land.

Now this adaptive process, beginning with Paul's evangelization of Greeks, as already noticed, appears to have followed distinct evolutionary lines, now diverging, now converging, again crossing one another; and its progress is manifested in three stages observable in the canonical texts, wherein the effects of selection, of accretion, of deletion, become manifest, — namely, the Aramaic translated by Lk, Paul's instruction, and Mark's conflation of the two. The translation shows Pauline influence, as we have noted, and to it, in the generally accepted text, is added verbatim the greater part of Paul's instruction. That instruction shows recollection of the Aramaic original of the translation, though partial and perhaps dim, in that it leaves out the paschal setting, ignores such important details as the abstinence from feast and cup, incorporates in place of it the notion of participation in the substance of the deity, — bread is *my* body, not Demeter's, wine is *my* blood, not Dionysos', — and adds the commemorative feature. Mk's composite shows at least second-hand familiarity with the gist of Paul's instruction, and first-hand knowledge of the Aramaic account, with its paschal background, its 'take ye, . . . drink ye, . . . for *I* will not drink . . . until . . . in the Kingdom,' which the apostle forgets or omits.

The celebration of the Eucharist as an ecclesiastical rite is very ancient. It is older than the composition of either of the synoptic Greek Gospels. It is as old as the practical acceptance of the apostle's instructions by the Corinthian church. It takes a strong stretch of the imagination to see any real prototype of it, prior to that epochal event, in the common meals of the primitive disciples. Yet shortly subsequent to that event its spread appears to have been rapid and extended. And for years thereafter, as we may see from the ancient liturgies, that rite continued to experience extensive formal and material changes, from time to time and in far separated local centers. And through them all the kernel of the rite persisted. This is my body. This is my blood.

Does not Mk's composite account then contain and express the liturgical form of that rite as it was celebrated at the time when he wrote, in the center where he was writing? Have we not here an exemplar, brief and comparatively simple though it be, of the oldest extant Liturgy of the Church?

Reference to other old, yet less ancient, Greek liturgies may shed light on these questions, for they in turn unquestionably represent later stages in the development of the Eucharistic Rite. I have before me *The Greek Liturgies*, edited by C. A. Swainson, D.D., Cambridge, 1884; and for the purpose of comparison, the *Liturgy of Alexandria*, pp. 50-52, will serve as well as any.

The phraseology of the rite there given contains much pious embellishment and enrichment of comparatively late date, but its substance is unmistakably drawn from I Cor. and Mk, and its predominant dependence is noticeably upon the apostle rather than upon the evangelists. It begins just as Paul begins and for the most part, except for what we might call embroidery, it follows him word for word; but when varying from him it ordinarily follows the wording of Mk or Lk, with occasional verbal agreements with Mt. For some of its enrichments we may not readily find any documentary authority. Collation of the Alexandria with the New Testament texts brings out these congruences and differences:

Liturgy

1. ' . . . that the Lord himself and our God and King of All,
Jesus the Christ, on the night in which'
Paul ' . . . that the Lord Jesus in the night in which'
2. 'he gave himself up for our sins and for all submitted to
the death of the flesh'
Paul 'he was betrayed,' or 'given up.'
3. 'taking bread'
Paul, and the synoptists, with slight variation.
4. 'having given thanks'
Paul and Lk, but not Mk and Mt.
5. 'having blessed'
Mk and Mt, but not Paul and Lk.
6. 'having broken'
Paul and the synoptists, with slight variation.
7. 'he handed over'
Not in Paul; in the synoptists, 'he gave.'
8. 'to the disciples'
So Mt; but Mk and Lk, 'to them.'
9. 'take'
Both Mk and Mt, presumably from the original
Aramaic. Not in Paul, unless, indeed, in a text
already corrupt. Lk writes 'take' in connection with
the cup.
10. 'eat'
Mt only, presumably from the Aramaic.
11. 'this is my body'
Paul and the synoptists, Paul, only, in different word
order.
12. 'which is for you'
Paul and Lk; not Mk and Mt.
13. 'handed over'
Lk, only, 'given.'
As in 7, the Liturgy uses the verb *διαδίδωμι*.

14. 'for remission of sins'
Not, in this connection, in either Paul or the synop-
tists, but cf. 25, below.
15. 'in like manner also after supper'
Paul, and Lk except for word order.
16. 'taking'
Mk and Mt, but not Paul and Lk.
17. 'having given thanks'
Mk and Mt, doubtless from the Aramaic, where Lk
also found it and translated it. Paul does not men-
tion thanks for the cup.
18. 'he shared it with,' or 'gave part of it to'
Not in Paul. Mk and Mt, 'he gave it to'
The liturgy resembles Lk's 'share it among your-
selves,' but with the distinct difference that it makes
Jesus, also, a partaker of the cup. The gentile church,
following Paul's account delivered to the Corinthians,
never adopted the conception of the primitive Ara-
maic tradition that Jesus himself abstained, though
Mk attaches it, loosely, to his exposition of the ritual
as it was practiced or celebrated in his day, and in
this respect is followed by Mt.
19. 'the disciples'
Not in Paul. Mk and Mt say 'them.'
20. 'εἰπών'
Paul, Mt and Lk 'λέγων'.
21. 'drink of it, all of you'
Not Paul. Mt, word for word. The evidence of variant
translations by the synoptists has been noted above.
22. 'this is my blood'
Mk and Mt, but not Paul or Lk.
23. 'of the new covenant'
Mk and Mt, except for the word 'new.' Paul and Lk
read 'this cup is the new covenant in my blood.'
24. 'which is shed for you and many'
Not Paul, but a combination of Mk, Mt and Lk.

25. 'in remission of sins'

Mt only, in this connection. Cf. 14 above.

26. The remainder of the eucharistic ritual as exemplified in the Liturgy, i. e. 'Do this, etc.' is clearly derived from Paul without admixture from Mk or the other synoptists: yet it varies from I Cor. For, as heretofore it changed Paul's 'was delivered up,' into 'gave himself up,' so now it recasts Paul's comment, 'ye do proclaim the Lord's death until he come,' puts it into the mouth of Jesus himself, and adds somewhat to it, thus: 'ye do proclaim my death and do assent to my resurrection and ascension until I come.'

We note also the absence from the liturgy of

27. 'For I will not eat' and

28. 'For I will not drink.'

Paul includes neither of these averments; but Lk gives them both, in his translation from the Aramaic, and Mk and Mt, while omitting the first, give the second with slight but significant variation. The absence of the two statements from the liturgy appears therefore to be due to Pauline and not to synoptic influence. In Lk they are an integral part of the account that he gives. In Mk, and, following him, in Mt also, the first does not occur at all, and the second, in which the 'for' has been replaced by 'Amen' or 'but,' becomes so disconnected from the liturgical rite that they give as to show that it is, already, no part of the church rite, but has been added to the compilation lest something of importance, found in a respected source, be omitted from the record. At least, that seems to be the probable explanation; for, from that time on, and in spite of the synoptic records, not one of the several ancient liturgies that I have examined re-introduces these words of abstention. The Church in its practice would have nothing to do with them.

It seems clear that this Liturgy of Alexandria represents a use or practice of the church at the time and place, whatever these were, of its committal to writing. That use is older than the writing, the essence of it much older; and the use itself, as we have seen, is the product of combination and agglutination of materials of disparate origin. "Liturgies are always derived from material which antedates considerably the time of compilation and adaptation to worship".¹ In the ecclesiastical rite evidenced by the Alexandria the essential part of the material already existed in I Cor. or in one or another of the three synoptics. In the less elaborate rite evidenced by Mk's brief and simple liturgy the material is at least as old as the apostle's instruction to the Corinthians. And far back of Paul and of the Corinthians of his day lie the keeping of the Hebrew Passover and the celebration of Greek religious feasts with their idolatrous conceptions and practices, which the apostle so strenuously labors to correct and reform, to spiritualize and Christianize. The process of compilation and adaptation to worship began early and went far. It shows a long persistent tendency to growth, in which we are still able to isolate and identify certain stages; one of them in Lk's translation from the Aramaic, another in that passage of I Cor., a third in the incipient liturgy of Mk 14:22-24.

The earliest tradition of what had occurred and had been said around a table in an upper chamber on a certain passover night, experiences adaptation to local conditions in a heathen land, to meet them and overcome them on their own ground. From that adaptation evolves the Christian ecclesiastical rite in its most primitive form, the sacrament of the eucharist, wholly unknown to the tradition that was to be or perhaps already had been transcribed in the Aramaic couplet. And to this adaptive process there was thereupon added the process of assimilation, the conflation of the tradition with its Pauline variant, now reflected in the accounts of Mk and Mt and even more distinctly reflected in the account of Lk in its edited form. These are the processes that continued to operate even after

¹ G. A. Barton, *Liturgy for a Jerusalem Festival*, Jrl. Bib. Lit., Vol. LIII, Pt. 1, Apr. 1934, p 61.

the synoptic gospels were compiled, even down to the era of the richly elaborate ritual displayed in the Alexandria and the other great Greek liturgies.

And just as ecclesiastical usage gradually pieced together material from Paul and material from the synoptists, adorning the whole with imaginative tracery; just as it transmuted 'was betrayed' into 'gave himself up,' and 'ye do proclaim the Lord's death until he come' into 'ye do proclaim my death until I come,' attributing these words to the Lord himself; so, even prior to the day when Mk penned his account, had ecclesiastical usage pieced together parts of Aramaic tradition with parts of Pauline teaching; so still earlier, had the apostle to the gentiles transmuted an account of the keeping of an ancient Hebrew festal rite into a doctrine of what an ancient Greek festal rite ought to, and might, become; so, too, had the apostle attributed to the Lord himself conceptions non-Jewish but wholly Greek, and put into His mouth words that he avers he had received from Him.

While therefore it is plain that Mk is not copying Paul's letter, and while evidence of any sort is lacking for the assumption that the identities between Paul and Mk, — 'This bread is my body . . This cup is my blood' — are to be explained by common dependence upon Peter or other authoritative source; the alternative hypothesis, that Mk's brief and simple liturgy does in fact represent but an early stage in the long development of the eucharistic rite in the church, based primarily on instruction delivered to gentile converts and adapted to correct the idolatrous conceptions and practices of their inherited cultus, takes full account of both the congruences and the incongruences between the synoptists and Paul, and offers what seems to me a coherent explanation of them as resulting from the play and counter-play of persistent forces and tendencies of growth in the evolution of religious ideas and institutions.

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